MENEXENUS

INTRODUCTION TO THE *MENEXENUS*

The *Menexenus* is an interesting little work, not so much for the matter it contains as for the literary problems which it raises. Sandwiched between two short pieces of dialogue it gives us what purports to be a funeral oration composed by Aspasia and reported by Socrates,—an oration which challenges comparison with the famous Periclean oration recorded by Thucydides, since Aspasia (according to Socrates) was the real author of them both. The difficulty of understanding Plato's motive and purpose in the *Menexenus* lies in the apparent contrast between the bantering and satirical tone of the opening dialogue, in which Socrates disparages the orators and makes light of their art, and the patriotic and moral sentiments which are expressed with every appearance of good faith in the main body of the oration. But in spite of much in the way of patriotism that may have been sincerely felt by Plato—recurring as it does in the *Timaeus*, *Critias* and *Laws*—it is obvious that the oration itself is largely intended as an illustration of the most glaring defect of current oratory, its indifference to *truth*. It is the same defect which is criticized sharply by Socrates in the *Symposium*. This being so, we need not wonder at the historical misstatements with which the oration abounds, nor at its exaggerated encomium of Athens and her heroic sons ; nor

should it even amaze us, in such a connexion, that Aspasia and Socrates are supposed to be cognizant of Greek history down to the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.), a dozen years after Socrates died! But none the less, regarded as an Epideictic display, and a study in formal rhetoric, Plato would have us believe, no doubt, that this exhibition of the versatility of Socrates is quite worthy to stand beside the best efforts of the disciples of Gorgias. And we may well be content to leave it there, putting down the *Menexenus* as one of Plato's literary experiments, a *parergon* of no great moment.

Menexenus himself, we may observe, was a young and well-born Athenian, a friend of Lysis and Ctesippus (*Lysis* 206 D), as well as an admirer of Socrates (*Phaedo* 59 B).

As in the rest of this volume, the text is based on that of the Zurich edition.

ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΟΓΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΞΕΝΟΣ

234 **1.** Ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος;

ΜΕ. Ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου.

ΣΩ. Τί μάλιστα σὺ πρὸς βουλευτήριον; ἢ δῆλα δὴ ὅτι παιδεύσεως καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τέλει ἡγεῖ εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἱκανῶς ἤδη ἔχων ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω ἐπινοεῖς τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἄρχειν ἡμῶν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἐπιχειρεῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τηλικοῦτος ὤν, ἵνα
B μὴ ἐκλίπῃ ὑμῶν ἡ οἰκία ἀεί τινα ἡμῶν ἐπιμελητὴν παρεχομένη;

ΜΕ. Ἐὰν σύ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐᾷς καὶ συμβουλεύῃς ἄρχειν, προθυμήσομαι· εἰ δὲ μή, οὔ. νῦν μέντοι ἀφικόμην πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον πυθόμενος ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ μέλλει αἱρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι· ταφὰς γὰρ οἶσθα ὅτι μέλλουσι ποιεῖν.

ΣΩ. Πάνυ γε. ἀλλὰ τίνα εἵλοντο;

ΜΕ. Οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ ἀνεβάλοντο εἰς τὴν αὔριον. οἶμαι μέντοι Ἀρχῖνον ἢ Δίωνα αἱρεθήσεσθαι.

MENEXENUS

CHARACTERS

SOCRATES, MENEXENUS

SOC. From the agora, Menexenus, or where from?

MEN. From the agora, Socrates, and the Council Chamber.

SOC. And what was it took you specially to the Council Chamber? But of course it was because you deem yourself to be at the end of your education and philosophic studies, and being sufficiently versed, as you think, in these, you are minded to turn to graver matters; and you at your age, my marvellous youth, are attempting to govern us older men, lest your house should ever fail in providing us with a succession of managers.

MEN. Certainly if you, Socrates, allow and counsel me to govern, I shall do so gladly; but otherwise not. This time, however, I went to the Council Chamber because I had learnt that the Council was going to select someone to make an oration over the dead; for you know that they propose to arrange for funeral rites.

SOC. Yes, I do. And whom did they select?

MEN. Nobody: they postponed it till to-morrow. I fancy, however, that Archinus will be selected, or Dion.

234 C **2.** ΣΩ. Καὶ μήν, ὦ Μενέξενε, πολλαχῇ κινδυνεύει καλὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθνήσκειν. καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς καλῆς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς τυγχάνει, καὶ ἐὰν πένης τις ὢν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ ἐπαίνου αὖ ἔτυχε, καὶ ἐὰν φαῦλος ᾖ, ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐπαινούντων, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου λόγους παρεσκευασμένων, οἳ οὕτω καλῶς ἐπαινοῦσιν ὥστε καὶ τὰ προσόντα καὶ τὰ μὴ περὶ ἑκάστου
235 λέγοντες, κάλλιστά πως τοῖς ὀνόμασι ποικίλλοντες, γοητεύουσιν ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχάς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζοντες κατὰ πάντας τρόπους καὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐπαινοῦντες, ὥστ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Μενέξενε, γενναίως πάνυ διατίθεμαι ἐπαινούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἑκάστοτε ἕστηκα ἀκροώμενος καὶ κηλούμενος, ἡγούμενος ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα μείζων
B καὶ γενναιότερος καὶ καλλίων γεγονέναι. καὶ οἷα δὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἀεὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ξένοι τινὲς ἕπονται καὶ ξυνακροῶνται, πρὸς οὓς ἐγὼ σεμνότερος ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα γίγνομαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ταὐτὰ ταῦτα δοκοῦσί μοι πάσχειν καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, θαυμασιωτέραν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι ἢ πρότερον, ὑπὸ τοῦ λέγοντος ἀναπειθόμενοι. καί μοι αὕτη ἡ σεμνότης παραμένει ἡμέρας πλείω ἢ τρεῖς· οὕτως ἔναυλος ὁ λόγος τε καὶ ὁ φθόγγος
C παρὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ἐνδύεται εἰς τὰ ὦτα, ὥστε μόγις τετάρτῃ ἢ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναμιμνήσκομαι ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ αἰσθάνομαι οὗ γῆς εἰμί, τέως δὲ οἶμαι μόνον οὐκ ἐν μακάρων νήσοις οἰκεῖν· οὕτως ἡμῖν οἱ ῥήτορες δεξιοί εἰσιν.

3. ΜΕ. Ἀεὶ σὺ προσπαίζεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς

soc. In truth, Menexenus, to fall in battle seems to be a splendid thing in many ways. For a man obtains a splendid and magnificent funeral even though at his death he be but a poor man; and though he be but a worthless fellow, he wins praise, and that by the mouth of accomplished men who do not praise at random, but in speeches prepared long beforehand. And they praise in such splendid fashion, that, what with their ascribing to each one both what he has and what he has not, and the variety and splendour of their diction, they bewitch our souls; and they eulogize the State in every possible fashion, and they praise those who died in the war and all our ancestors of former times and ourselves who are living still; so that I myself, Menexenus, when thus praised by them feel mightily ennobled, and every time I listen fascinated I am exalted and imagine myself to have become all at once taller and nobler and more handsome. And as I am generally accompanied by some strangers, who listen along with me, I become in their eyes also all at once more majestic; for they also manifestly share in my feelings with regard both to me and to the rest of our City, believing it to be more marvellous than before, owing to the persuasive eloquence of the speaker. And this majestic feeling remains with me for over three days: so persistently does the speech and voice of the orator ring in my ears that it is scarcely on the fourth or fifth day that I recover myself and remember that I really am here on earth, whereas till then I almost imagined myself to be living in the Islands of the Blessed,—so expert are our orators.

MEN. You are always deriding the orators, Socrates.

235 ῥήτορας. νῦν μέντοι οἶμαι ἐγὼ τὸν αἱρεθέντα οὐ πάνυ εὐπορήσειν· ἐξ ὑπογυίου γὰρ παντάπασιν ἡ αἵρεσις γέγονεν, ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται ὁ λέγων ὥσπερ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν.

D ΣΩ. Πόθεν, ὦ ᾽γαθέ; εἰσὶν ἑκάστοις τούτων λόγοι παρεσκευασμένοι, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τά γε τοιαῦτα χαλεπόν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δέοι Ἀθηναίους ἐν Πελοποννησίοις εὖ λέγειν ἢ Πελοποννησίους ἐν Ἀθηναίοις, ἀγαθοῦ ἂν ῥήτορος δέοι τοῦ πείσοντος καὶ εὐδοκιμήσοντος· ὅταν δέ τις ἐν τούτοις ἀγωνίζηται, οὕσπερ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ, οὐδὲν μέγα δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν.

ΜΕ. Οὐκ οἴει, ὦ Σώκρατες;

ΣΩ. Οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία.

E ΜΕ. Ἢ οἴει οἷός τ᾽ ἂν εἶναι αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι καὶ ἔλοιτό σε ἡ βουλή;

ΣΩ. Καὶ ἐμοὶ μέν γε, ὦ Μενέξενε, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν οἴῳ τ᾽ εἶναι εἰπεῖν, ᾧ τυγχάνει διδάσκαλος οὖσα οὐ πάνυ φαύλη περὶ ῥητορικῆς, ἀλλ᾽ ἥπερ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς πεποίηκε ῥήτορας, ἕνα δὲ καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου.

ΜΕ. Τίς αὕτη; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι Ἀσπασίαν λέγεις;

ΣΩ. Λέγω γάρ, καὶ Κόννον γε τὸν Μητροβίου·
236 οὗτοι γάρ μοι δύο εἰσὶ διδάσκαλοι, ὁ μὲν μουσικῆς, ἡ δὲ ῥητορικῆς. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τρεφόμενον ἄνδρα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν δεινὸν εἶναι λέγειν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις ἐμοῦ κάκιον ἐπαιδεύθη, μουσικὴν μὲν ὑπὸ Λάμπρου παιδευθείς, ῥητορικὴν δὲ ὑπ᾽ Ἀντι-

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[1] Aspasia, of Miletus, famous as the mistress of the Athenian statesman Pericles (*circa* 430 B.C.).

And truly I think that this time the selected speaker will not be too well prepared ; for the selection is being made without warning, so that the speaker will probably be driven to improvise his speech.

SOC. Why so, my good sir ? Each one of these men has speeches ready made ; and what is more, it is in no wise difficult to improvise such things. For if it were a question of eulogizing Athenians before an audience of Peloponnesians, or Peloponnesians before Athenians, there would indeed be need of a good orator to win credence and credit ; but when a man makes his effort in the presence of the very men whom he is praising, it is no difficult matter to win credit as a fine speaker.

MEN. You think not, Socrates ?

SOC. Yes, by Zeus, I certainly do.

MEN. And do you think that you yourself would be able to make the speech, if required and if the Council were to select you ?

SOC. That I should be able to make the speech would be nothing wonderful, Menexenus ; for she who is my instructor is by no means weak in the art of rhetoric ; on the contrary, she has turned out many fine orators, and amongst them one who surpassed all other Greeks, Pericles, the son of Xanthippus.

MEN. Who is she ? But you mean Aspasia,[1] no doubt.

SOC. I do ; and also Connus the son of Metrobius ; for these are my two instructors, the one in music, the other in rhetoric. So it is not surprising that a man who is trained like me should be clever at speaking. But even a man less well taught than I, who had learnt his music from Lamprus and his rhetoric

236 φῶντος τοῦ Ῥαμνουσίου, ὅμως κἂν οὗτος οἷός τ' εἴη Ἀθηναίους γε ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπαινῶν εὐδοκιμεῖν.

4. ΜΕ. Καὶ τί ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, εἰ δέοι σε λέγειν;

ΣΩ. Αὐτὸς μὲν παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ ἴσως οὐδέν, Β Ἀσπασίας δὲ καὶ χθὲς ἠκροώμην περαινούσης ἐπιτάφιον λόγον περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων. ἤκουσε γὰρ ἅπερ σὺ λέγεις, ὅτι μέλλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ἐροῦντα· ἔπειτα τὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμά μοι διῄει, οἷα δέοι λέγειν, τὰ δὲ πρότερον ἐσκεμμένη, ὅτε μοι δοκεῖ συνετίθει τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λόγον, ὃν Περικλῆς εἶπε, περιλείμματ' ἄττα ἐξ ἐκείνου συγκολλῶσα.

ΜΕ. Ἦ καὶ μνημονεύσαις ἂν ἃ ἔλεγεν Ἀσπασία;

ΣΩ. Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε· ἐμάνθανόν γέ τοι παρ' C αὐτῆς, καὶ ὀλίγου πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὅτι ἐπελανθανόμην.

ΜΕ. Τί οὖν οὐ διῆλθες;

ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ὅπως μή μοι χαλεπανεῖ ἡ διδάσκαλος, ἂν ἐξενέγκω αὐτῆς τὸν λόγον.

ΜΕ. Μηδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' εἰπέ, καὶ πάνυ μοι χαριεῖ, εἴτε Ἀσπασίας βούλει λέγειν εἴτε ὁτουοῦν· ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπέ.

ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἴσως μου καταγελάσει, ἄν σοι δόξω πρεσβύτης ὢν ἔτι παίζειν.

ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' εἰπὲ παντὶ τρόπῳ.

5. ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι σοί γε δεῖ χαρίζεσθαι, ᾧ

from Antiphon the Rhamnusian,[1]—even such a one, I say, could none the less win credit by praising Athenians before an Athenian audience.

MEN. What, then, would you have to say, if you were required to speak ?

SOC. Nothing, perhaps, myself of my own invention; but I was listening only yesterday to Aspasia going through a funeral speech for these very people. For she had heard the report you mention, that the Athenians are going to select the speaker; and thereupon she rehearsed to me the speech in the form it should take, extemporizing in part, while other parts of it she had previously prepared, as I imagine, at the time when she was composing the funeral oration which Pericles delivered; and from this she patched together sundry fragments.

MEN. Could you repeat from memory that speech of Aspasia ?

SOC. Yes, if I am not mistaken; for I learnt it, to be sure, from her as she went along, and I nearly got a flogging whenever I forgot.

MEN. Why don't you repeat it then ?

SOC. But possibly my teacher will be vexed with me if I publish abroad her speech.

MEN. Never fear, Socrates; only tell it and you will gratify me exceedingly, whether it is Aspasia's that you wish to deliver or anyone else's; only say on.

SOC. But you will probably laugh me to scorn if I, at my age, seem to you to be playing like a child.

MEN. Not at all, Socrates; but by all means say on.

SOC. Nay, then, I must surely gratify you; for

[1] Antiphon, born in 480 B.C., was the first of the ten great Attic Orators.

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D γε[1] κἂν ὀλίγου, εἴ με κελεύοις ἀποδύντα ὀρχήσασθαι, χαρισαίμην ἄν, ἐπειδή γε μόνω ἐσμέν. ἀλλ' ἄκουε. ἔλεγε γάρ, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἀρξαμένη λέγειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν τεθνεώτων οὑτωσί.

Ἔργῳ μὲν ἡμῖν οἵδε ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἱμαρμένην πορείαν, προπεμφθέντες κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων· λόγῳ δὲ δὴ τὸν λειπόμενον κόσμον ὅ τε νόμος προστάττει �απο-
E δοῦναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ χρή· ἔργων γὰρ εὖ πραχθέντων λόγῳ καλῶς ῥηθέντι μνήμη καὶ κόσμος τοῖς πράξασι γίγνεται παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων. δεῖ δὴ τοιούτου τινὸς λόγου, ὅστις τοὺς μὲν τετελευτηκότας ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσεται, τοῖς δὲ ζῶσιν εὐμενῶς παραινέσεται, ἐκγόνοις μὲν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς μιμεῖσθαι τὴν τῶνδε ἀρετὴν παρακελευόμενος, πατέρας δὲ καὶ μητέρας καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν ἄνωθεν ἔτι προγόνων λείπονται, τούτους δὲ παραμυθού-
237 μενος. τίς οὖν ἂν ἡμῖν τοιοῦτος λόγος φανείη; ἢ πόθεν ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀρξαίμεθα ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦντες, οἳ ζῶντές τε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν εὔφραινον δι' ἀρετήν, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀντὶ τῆς τῶν ζώντων σωτηρίας ἠλλάξαντο; δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι, κατὰ φύσιν ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὕτω καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν. τὴν εὐγένειαν οὖν πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐγκω-
μιάζωμεν, δεύτερον δὲ τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν·
B ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν τῶν ἔργων πρᾶξιν ἐπιδείξωμεν, ὡς καλὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τούτων ἀπεφήναντο.

6. Τῆς δ' εὐγενείας πρῶτον ὑπῆρξε τοῖσδε ἡ τῶν

[1] ᾧ γε conj. Stallbaum: ὥστε mss., Zur.

indeed I would almost gratify you if you were to bid me strip and dance, now that we two are alone. Listen then. In her speech, I believe, she began by making mention of the dead men themselves in this wise :

In respect of deeds, these men have received at our hands what is due unto them, endowed wherewith they travel their predestined road ; for they have been escorted forth in solemn procession publicly by the City and privately by their kinsfolk. But in respect of words, the honour that remains still due to these heroes the law enjoins us, and it is right, to pay in full. For it is by means of speech finely spoken that deeds nobly done gain for their doers from the hearers the meed of memory and renown. And the speech required is one which will adequately eulogize the dead and give kindly exhortation to the living, appealing to their children and their brethren to copy the virtues of these heroes, and to their fathers and mothers and any still surviving ancestors offering consolation. Where then could we discover a speech like that ? Or how could we rightly commence our laudation of these valiant men, who in their lifetime delighted their friends by their virtue, and purchased the safety of the living by their deaths ? We ought, in my judgement, to adopt the natural order in our praise, even as the men themselves were natural in their virtue. And virtuous they were because they were sprung from men of virtue. Firstly, then, let us eulogize their nobility of birth, and secondly their nurture and training : thereafter we shall exhibit the character of their exploits, how nobly and worthily they wrought them.

Now as regards nobility of birth, their first claim

237 προγόνων γένεσις οὐκ ἔπηλυς οὖσα, οὐδὲ τοὺς
ἐκγόνους τούτους ἀποφηναμένη μετοικοῦντας ἐν
τῇ χώρᾳ ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἡκόντων, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονας
καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν πατρίδι οἰκοῦντας καὶ ζῶντας, καὶ
τρεφομένους οὐχ ὑπὸ μητρυιᾶς ὡς ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
C μητρὸς τῆς χώρας ἐν ᾗ ᾤκουν, καὶ νῦν κεῖσθαι
τελευτήσαντας ἐν οἰκείοις τόποις τῆς τεκούσης
καὶ θρεψάσης καὶ ὑποδεξαμένης. δικαιότατον δὴ
κοσμῆσαι πρῶτον τὴν μητέρα αὐτήν· οὕτω γὰρ
συμβαίνει ἅμα καὶ ἡ τῶνδε εὐγένεια κοσμουμένη.

7. Ἔστι δὲ ἀξία ἡ χώρα καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων ἐπαινεῖσθαι, οὐ μόνον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, πολλαχῇ μὲν
καὶ ἄλλῃ, πρῶτον δὲ καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι τυγχάνει
οὖσα θεοφιλής. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ἡμῶν τῷ λόγῳ ἡ τῶν
ἀμφισβητησάντων περὶ αὐτὴν θεῶν ἔρις τε καὶ
D κρίσις. ἦν δὴ θεοὶ ἐπῄνεσαν, πῶς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀνθρώ-
πων γε ξυμπάντων δικαία ἐπαινεῖσθαι; δεύτερος
δὲ ἔπαινος δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς εἴη, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῳ
τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα γῆ ἀνεδίδου καὶ ἔφυε ζῶα
παντοδαπά, θηρία τε καὶ βοτά, ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἡμετέρα
θηρίων μὲν ἀγρίων ἄγονος καὶ καθαρὰ ἐφάνη,
ἐξελέξατο δὲ τῶν ζώων καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἄνθρωπον,
ὃ συνέσει τε ὑπερέχει τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δίκην καὶ
E θεοὺς μόνον νομίζει. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον τούτῳ
τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτι ἥδε ἔτεκεν ἡ γῆ τοὺς τῶνδέ τε καὶ
ἡμετέρους προγόνους· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ τεκὸν τροφὴν
ἔχει ἐπιτηδείαν ᾧ ἂν τέκῃ· ᾧ καὶ γυνὴ δήλη
τεκοῦσά τε ἀληθῶς καὶ μή, [ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη],[1]
ἐὰν μὴ ἔχῃ πηγὰς τροφῆς τῷ γεννωμένῳ. ὃ δὴ

[1] ἀλλ' ὑποβαλλομένη bracketed by Hartman.

[1] Athena and Poseidon, see Ovid, *Metam.* vi. 70 ff.

thereto is this—that the forefathers of these men were not of immigrant stock, nor were these their sons declared by their origin to be strangers in the land sprung from immigrants, but natives sprung from the soil living and dwelling in their own true fatherland; and nurtured also by no stepmother, like other folk, but by that mother-country wherein they dwelt, which bare them and reared them and now at their death receives them again to rest in their own abodes. Most meet it is that first we should celebrate that Mother herself; for by so doing we shall also celebrate therewith the noble birth of these heroes.

Our country is deserving of praise, not only from us but from all men, on many grounds, but first and foremost because she is god-beloved. The strife of the gods [1] who contended over her and their judgement testify to the truth of our statement. And how should not she whom the gods praised deserve to be praised by all mankind? And a second just ground of praise would be this,—that during that period in which the whole earth was putting forth and producing animals of every kind, wild and tame, our country showed herself barren and void of wild animals, but chose for herself and gave birth to man, who surpasses all other animals in intelligence and alone of animals regards justice and the gods. And we have a signal proof of this statement in that this land of ours has given birth to the forefathers both of these men and of ourselves. For every creature that brings forth possesses a suitable supply of nourishment for its offspring; and by this test it is manifest also whether a woman be truly a mother or no, if she possesses no founts of nourishment for her child.

237 καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ τε καὶ μήτηρ ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον
παρέχεται ὡς ἀνθρώπους γεννησαμένη· μόνη γὰρ
ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ πρώτη τροφὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἤνεγκε
238 τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν καρπόν, ᾧ κάλλιστα
καὶ ἄριστα τρέφεται τὸ ἀνθρώπειον γένος, ὡς τῷ
ὄντι τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον αὐτὴ γεννησαμένη. μᾶλλον
δὲ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἢ γυναικὸς προσήκει δέχεσθαι τοιαῦτα
τεκμήρια· οὐ γὰρ γῇ γυναῖκα μεμίμηται κυήσει
καὶ γεννήσει, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ γῆν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ
καρποῦ οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἔνειμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις.
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐλαίου γένεσιν, πόνων ἀρωγήν,
ἀνῆκε τοῖς ἐκγόνοις. θρεψαμένη δὲ καὶ αὐξήσασα
B πρὸς ἥβην ἄρχοντας καὶ διδασκάλους αὐτῶν θεοὺς
ἐπηγάγετο· ὧν τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρέπει ἐν τῷ
τοιῷδε ἐᾷν· ἴσμεν γάρ· οἳ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν κατ-
εσκεύασαν πρός τε τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν τέχνας
πρώτους παιδευσάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς
χώρας φυλακὴν ὅπλων κτῆσίν τε καὶ χρῆσιν διδα-
ξάμενοι.

8. Γενηθέντες δὲ καὶ παιδευθέντες οὕτως οἱ
τῶνδε πρόγονοι ᾤκουν πολιτείαν κατασκευασά-
C μενοι ἧς ὀρθῶς ἔχει διὰ βραχέων ἐπιμνησθῆναι.
πολιτεία γὰρ τροφὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐστί, καλὴ μὲν
ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἐναντία κακῶν. ὡς οὖν ἐν καλῇ
πολιτείᾳ ἐτράφησαν οἱ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν ἀναγκαῖον
δηλῶσαι, δι' ἣν δὴ κἀκεῖνοι ἀγαθοὶ καὶ οἱ νῦν εἰσίν,
ὧν οἵδε τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ τετελευτηκότες. ἡ

Now our land, which is also our mother, furnishes to the full this proof of her having brought forth men ; for, of all the lands that then existed, she was the first and the only one to produce human nourishment, namely the grain of wheat and barley, whereby the race of mankind is most richly and well nourished, inasmuch as she herself was the true mother of this creature. And proofs such as this one ought to accept more readily on behalf of a country than on behalf of a woman ; for it is not the country that imitates the woman in the matter of conception and birth, but the woman the country. But this her produce of grain she did not begrudge to the rest of men, but dispensed it to them also. And after it she brought to birth for her children the olive, sore labour's balm. And when she had nurtured and reared them up to man's estate, she introduced gods to be their governors and tutors ; the names of whom it behoves us to pass over in this discourse, since we know them ; and they set in order our mode of life, not only in respect of daily business, by instructing us before all others in the arts, but also in respect of the guardianship of our country, by teaching us how to acquire and handle arms.

Such being the manner of their birth and of their education, the ancestors of these men framed for themselves and lived under a civic polity which it is right for us briefly to describe. For a polity is a thing which nurtures men, good men when it is noble, bad men when it is base. It is necessary, then, to demonstrate that the polity wherein our forefathers were nurtured was a noble one, such as caused goodness not only in them but also in their descendants of the present age, amongst whom we number these

238 γὰρ αὐτὴ πολιτεία καὶ τότε ἦν καὶ νῦν, [ἀριστοκρατία],[1] ἐν ᾗ νῦν τε πολιτευόμεθα καὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἐξ ἐκείνου ὡς τὰ πολλά. καλεῖ δὲ ὁ μὲν αὐτὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλο, ᾧ ἂν χαίρῃ· ἔστι D δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους ἀριστοκρατία. βασιλεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡμῖν εἰσίν· οὗτοι δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἐκ γένους, τοτὲ δὲ αἱρετοί· ἐγκρατὲς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πολλὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς δίδωσι καὶ κράτος τοῖς ἀεὶ δόξασιν ἀρίστοις εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε ἀσθενείᾳ οὔτε πενίᾳ οὔτ' ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων ἀπελήλαται οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τετίμηται, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ εἷς ὅρος, ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι κρατεῖ καὶ ἄρχει. αἰτία δὲ ἡμῖν E τῆς πολιτείας ταύτης ἡ ἐξ ἴσου γένεσις. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐκ παντοδαπῶν κατεσκευασμέναι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνωμάλων, ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνώμαλοι καὶ αἱ πολιτεῖαι, τυραννίδες τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι· οἰκοῦσιν οὖν ἔνιοι μὲν δούλους, οἱ δὲ δεσπότας ἀλλήλους νομίζοντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ 239 ἡμέτεροι, μιᾶς μητρὸς π΄ντες ἀδελφοὶ φύντες, οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν δοῦλοι οὐδὲ δεσπόται ἀλλήλων εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡ ἰσογονία ἡμᾶς ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἰσονομίαν ἀναγκάζει ζητεῖν κατὰ νόμον, καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπείκειν ἀλλήλοις ἢ ἀρετῆς δόξῃ καὶ φρονήσεως.

9. Ὅθεν δὴ ἐν πάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ τεθραμμένοι οἱ τῶνδέ τε πατέρες καὶ ‹οἱ›[2] ἡμέτεροι καὶ αὐτοὶ

[1] ἀριστοκρατία bracketed by H. Richards.
[2] οἱ added by one MS.

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[1] *i.e.* "rule of the best."

men who are fallen. For it is the same polity which existed then and exists now, under which polity we are living now and have been living ever since that age with hardly a break. One man calls it "democracy," another man, according to his fancy, gives it some other name; but it is, in very truth, an "aristocracy"[1] backed by popular approbation. Kings we always have[2]; but these are at one time hereditary, at another selected by vote. And while the most part of civic affairs are in the control of the populace, they hand over the posts of government and the power to those who from time to time are deemed to be the best men; and no man is debarred by his weakness or poverty or by the obscurity of his parentage, or promoted because of the opposite qualities, as is the case in other States. On the contrary, the one principle of selection is this: the man that is deemed to be wise or good rules and governs. And the cause of this our polity lies in our equality of birth. For whereas all other States are composed of a heterogeneous collection of all sorts of people, so that their polities also are heterogeneous, tyrannies as well as oligarchies, some of them regarding one another as slaves, others as masters; we and our people, on the contrary, being all born of one mother, claim to be neither the slaves of one another nor the masters; rather does our natural birth-equality drive us to seek lawfully legal equality, and to yield to one another in no respect save in reputation for virtue and understanding.

Wherefore the forefathers of these men and of us, and these men themselves, having been reared up thus

[2] A reference to the "Archons," one of whom was called *Basileus* ("King").

239 οὗτοι, καὶ καλῶς φύντες, πολλὰ δὴ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα
ἀπεφήναντο εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ
B δημοσίᾳ, οἰόμενοι δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ
Ἕλλησιν ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων μάχεσθαι καὶ βαρβάροις
ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Εὐμόλπου μὲν οὖν
καὶ Ἀμαζόνων ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν
καὶ τῶν ἔτι προτέρων ὡς ἠμύναντο, καὶ ὡς
ἤμυναν Ἀργείοις πρὸς Καδμείους καὶ Ἡρακλείδαις
πρὸς Ἀργείους, ὅ τε χρόνος βραχὺς ἀξίως διηγή-
σασθαι, ποιηταί τε αὐτῶν ἤδη ἱκανῶς τὴν ἀρετὴν
ἐν μουσικῇ ὑμνήσαντες εἰς πάντας μεμηνύκασιν·
C ἐὰν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐπιχειρῶμεν τὰ αὐτὰ λόγῳ ψιλῷ
κοσμεῖν, τάχ' ἂν δεύτεροι φαινοίμεθα. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν διὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖ μοι ἐᾶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔχει τὴν
ἀξίαν· ὧν δὲ οὔτε ποιητής πω δόξαν ἀξίαν ἐπ'
ἀξίοις λαβὼν ἔχει ἔτι τ' ἐστὶν ἐν ἀμνηστίᾳ, τούτων
πέρι μοι δοκεῖ χρῆναι ἐπιμνησθῆναι ἐπαινοῦντά
τε καὶ προμνώμενον ἄλλοις ἐς ᾠδάς τε καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην ποίησιν αὐτὰ θεῖναι πρεπόντως τῶν πραξάν-
των. ἔστι δὲ τούτων ὧν λέγω πρῶτα.
D Πέρσας ἡγουμένους τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δουλουμένους
τὴν Εὐρώπην ἔσχον οἱ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἔκγονοι,
γονεῖς δὲ ἡμέτεροι, ὧν καὶ δίκαιον καὶ χρὴ πρῶτον
μεμνημένους ἐπαινέσαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετήν. δεῖ δὴ
αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν, εἰ μέλλει τις καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν, ἐν

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[1] Eumolpus, a Thracian bard and chieftain, son of Poseidon, said to have aided the Eleusinians in invading Attica.

[2] The Amazons, a race of female warriors in Pontus, said to have attacked Athens and been driven back to Asia by the hero Theseus.

[3] *i.e.* in the war of " the Seven against Thebes " (of which city Cadmus was the founder).

in complete freedom, and being nobly born, achieved before all men many noble deeds both individual and national, deeming it their duty to fight in the cause of freedom alike with Greeks on behalf of Greeks and with barbarians on behalf of the whole of Greece. The story of how they repulsed Eumolpus [1] and the Amazons,[2] and still earlier invaders, when they marched upon our country, and how they defended the Argives against the Cadmeians [3] and the Heracleidae against the Argives,[4] is a story which our time is too short to relate as it deserves, and already their valour has been adequately celebrated in song by poets who have made it known throughout the world; consequently, if we should attempt to magnify the same achievements in plain prose, we should probably find ourselves outmatched. These exploits, therefore, for these reasons I judge that we should pass over, seeing also that they have their due meed of praise; but those exploits for which as yet no poet has received worthy renown for worthy cause, and which lie still buried in oblivion, I ought, as I think, to celebrate, not only praising them myself but providing material also for others to build up into odes and other forms of poetry in a manner worthy of the doers of those deeds. And of the deeds whereof I speak the first were these:

The Persians were in command of Asia, and were enslaving Europe, when they came in contact with the children of this land, our own parents, of whom it is right and proper that we should make mention first and celebrate their valour. But if we are to celebrate it fitly, in order to visualize it we must place

[4] The Athenians aided "the sons of Heracles" against Eurystheus, King of Tiryns in Argolis.

239 ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γενόμενον λόγῳ, ὅτε πᾶσα μὲν
ἡ Ἀσία ἐδούλευε τρίτῳ ἤδη βασιλεῖ, ὧν ὁ μὲν
πρῶτος Κῦρος ἐλευθερώσας Πέρσας τοὺς αὑτοῦ
πολίτας τῷ αὑτοῦ φρονήματι ἅμα καὶ τοὺς δε-
E σπότας Μήδους ἐδουλώσατο καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας
μέχρι Αἰγύπτου ἦρξεν, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Αἰγύπτου
τε καὶ Λιβύης ὅσον οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπιβαίνειν, τρίτος
δὲ Δαρεῖος πεζῇ μὲν μέχρι Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν
ὡρίσατο, ναυσὶ δὲ τῆς τε θαλάττης ἐκράτει καὶ
240 τῶν νήσων, ὥστε μηδὲ ἀξιοῦν ἀντίπαλον αὐτῷ
μηδένα εἶναι· αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι δεδουλωμέναι ἁπάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ
μάχιμα γένη καταδεδουλωμένη ἦν ἡ Περσῶν
ἀρχή.

10. Αἰτιασάμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἡμᾶς τε καὶ
Ἐρετριέας Σάρδεσιν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι [προφασιζό-
μενος],[1] πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πεντήκοντα ἔν τε
πλοίοις καὶ ναυσί, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας, Δᾶτιν δὲ
B ἄρχοντα, εἶπεν ἥκειν ἄγοντα Ἐρετριέας καὶ
Ἀθηναίους, εἰ βούλοιτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν·
ὁ δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἐρέτριαν ἐπ' ἄνδρας οἳ τῶν τότε
Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς εὐδοκιμωτάτοι[2] ἦσαν τὰ πρὸς
τὸν πόλεμον καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τούτους ἐχειρώσατο
μὲν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, διηρευνήσατο δὲ αὐτῶν
πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀποφύγοι, τοιούτῳ
τρόπῳ· ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια ἐλθόντες τῆς Ἐρετρικῆς οἱ
στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ, ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν
C διαστάντες, συνάψαντες τὰς χεῖρας διῆλθον ἅπασαν

[1] προφασιζόμενος bracketed by Cobet.
[2] εὐδοκιμώτατοι Hirschig: εὐδοκιμωτάτοις mss., Zur.

ourselves, in thought, at that epoch when the whole of Asia was already in bondage to the third of the Persian kings. Cyrus,[1] the first of these kings, had by his own spirited action set free his fellow-countrymen, the Persians, and not only enslaved the Medes, their masters, but also gained command of the rest of Asia, as far as to Egypt. His son[2] ruled over Egypt and as much of Libya as he could traverse; while the third king, Darius, extended his empire by land as far as to the Scythians, and by his navy controlled the sea and the islands, so that none so much as thought of disputing his sway. Thus the minds of all men were enslaved; so many were the mighty and warlike nations which had fallen under the yoke of the Persian Empire.

Then Darius, accusing us and the Eretrians of having plotted against Sardis, dispatched fifty myriads of men in transports and warships, together with three hundred ships of war, and Datis as their commander; and him the king ordered to bring back the Eretrians and Athenians in captivity, if he wished to keep his own head. He then sailed to Eretria against men who were amongst the most famous warriors in Greece at that time, and by no means few in number; them he overpowered within three days, and lest any should escape he made a thorough search of the whole of their country; and his method was this. His soldiers marched to the limits of Eretria and posted themselves at intervals from sea to sea; then they joined hands and passed through the whole of the country,

[1] Cyrus overthrew the Medes in 559, and reigned till 529 B.C.

[2] Cambyses, son of Cyrus, 529–522 B.C.

240 τὴν χώραν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς σφᾶς ἀποπεφευγὼς εἴη. τῇ δ' αὐτῇ διανοίᾳ κατηγάγοντο ἐξ Ἐρετρίας εἰς Μαραθῶνα, ὡς ἕτοιμόν σφισιν ὂν καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ζεύξαντας Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἄγειν.

Τούτων δὲ τῶν μὲν πραχθέντων, τῶν δ' ἐπιχειρουμένων οὔτ' Ἐρετριεῦσιν ἐβοήθησεν Ἑλλήνων οὐδεὶς οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· οὗτοι δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ
D παρόντι σωτηρίαν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ ἄν τις γενόμενος γνοίη οἷοι ἄρα ἐτύγχανον ὄντες τὴν ἀρετὴν οἱ Μαραθῶνι δεξάμενοι τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων δύναμιν καὶ κολασάμενοι τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ πρῶτοι στήσαντες τρόπαια τῶν βαρβάρων, ἡγεμόνες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἄμαχος εἴη ἡ Περσῶν δύναμις, ἀλλὰ πᾶν πλῆθος καὶ πᾶς πλοῦτος ἀρετῇ ὑπείκει.
E ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας φημὶ οὐ μόνον τῶν σωμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ ξυμπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἠπείρῳ· εἰς ἐκεῖνο γὰρ τὸ ἔργον ἀποβλέψαντες καὶ τὰς ὑστέρας μάχας ἐτόλμησαν διακινδυνεύειν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας, μαθηταὶ τῶν Μαραθῶνι γενόμενοι.

11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀριστεῖα τῷ λόγῳ ἐκείνοις ἀναθετέον, τὰ δὲ δευτερεῖα τοῖς περὶ Σαλαμῖνα
241 καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχήσασι καὶ νικήσασι. καὶ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις ἔχοι

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[1] *Cf.* Hdt. v. 99 ff.; *Laws* iii. 698 c ff. The expedition of Datis took place in 490 B.C.

in order that they might be able to report to the king that not a man had escaped out of their hands.[1] With the same design they sailed off from Eretria to Marathon, supposing that they would have an easy task in leading the Athenians captive under the same yoke of bondage as the Eretrians.

And while these actions were being accomplished in part, and in part attempted, not one of the Greeks lent aid to the Eretrians nor yet to the Athenians, save only the Lacedaemonians (and they arrived on the day after the battle); all the rest were terror-stricken, and, hugging their present security, made no move. It is by realizing this position of affairs that we can appreciate what manner of men those were, in point of valour, who awaited the onset of the barbarians' power, chastised all Asia's insolent pride, and were the first to rear trophies of victory over the barbarians; whereby they pointed the way to the others and taught them to know that the Persian power was not invincible, since there is no multitude of men or money but courage conquers it. I, therefore, affirm that those men were the begetters not merely of our bodies but of our freedom also, and the freedom of all the dwellers in this continent; for it was the example of that exploit of theirs which fired the Greeks with courage to risk the later battles in the cause of salvation, learning their lesson from the men of Marathon.

To them, therefore, we award in this our speech the first prize for valour, and the second to those who fought and won the sea-fights off Salamis and at Artemisium.[2] And truly concerning these men also

[2] These battles took place during Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480 B.C.

241 διελθεῖν, καὶ οἷα ἐπιόντα ὑπέμειναν κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ὡς ἠμύναντο ταῦτα· ὃ δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκείνων κάλλιστον εἶναι, τούτου μνησθήσομαι, ὅτι τὸ ἑξῆς ἔργον τοῖς Μαραθῶνι διεπράξαντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τοσοῦτον μόνον ἐπέδειξαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι κατὰ γῆν οἷόν
B τε ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀλίγοις πολλούς, ναυσὶ δὲ ἔτι ἦν ἄδηλον καὶ δόξαν εἶχον Πέρσαι ἄμαχοι εἶναι κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ πλήθει καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τέχνῃ καὶ ῥώμῃ. τοῦτο δὴ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν τότε ναυμαχησάντων, ὅτι τὸν ἐχόμενον φόβον διέλυσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἔπαυσαν φοβουμένους πλῆθος νεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων δὴ ξυμβαίνει, τῶν τε Μαραθῶνι μαχεσαμένων καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
C ναυμαχησάντων, παιδευθῆναι τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν κατὰ γῆν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μαθόντας καὶ ἐθισθέντας μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους.

12. Τρίτον δὲ λέγω τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον καὶ ἀριθμῷ καὶ ἀρετῇ γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σωτηρίας, κοινὸν ἤδη τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον καὶ χαλεπώτατον οὗτοι πάντες ἤμυναν, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν
D νῦν τε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐγκωμιάζονται καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ὕστερον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πολλαὶ μὲν πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι ἦσαν μετὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἠγγέλλετο βασιλεὺς διανοεῖσθαι ὡς ἐπιχειρήσων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλ-

[1] At Plataea the Persians under Mardonius were defeated in 479 B.C.

one might have much to relate, regarding the manner of onsets they endured both by land and sea, and how they repelled them; but the achievement I shall mention is that which was, in my judgement, the noblest that they performed, in that it followed up the achievement of the men of Marathon. For whereas the men of Marathon had only proved to the Greeks thus much,—that it was possible to repel the barbarians by land though few against many, yet the prospect in a sea-fight remained still doubtful, and the Persians still retained the reputation of being invincible by sea, in virtue of their numbers and their wealth, their naval skill and strength. For this, then, the men who fought those sea-fights merit our praise, that they delivered the Greeks from the second of their fears, and put an end to the terrors inspired by multitudes of ships and men. So it came about, by the action of both—the soldiers who fought at Marathon and the sailors who fought at Salamis—, that the rest of the Greeks were trained and accustomed to have no fear of the barbarians, neither by land, as our soldiers taught them, nor yet, as our sailors taught them, by sea.

The exploit at Plataea [1] I put third both in order and in merit of those which secured the salvation of Greece; and in this exploit, at last, the Lacedaemonians co-operated with the Athenians.

By the action of all these men the greatest and most formidable danger was warded off, and because of this their valour we pronounce their eulogy now, as our successors will in the time to come. But, in the period that followed, many cities of the Greeks were still in league with the barbarian, and of the king himself it was reported that he was purposing

241 ληνας. δίκαιον δὴ καὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπιμνησθῆναι,
οἳ τοῖς τῶν προτέρων ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας
ἐπέθεσαν ἀνακαθηράμενοι καὶ ἐξελάσαντες πᾶν
τὸ βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἵ
E τε ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ναυμαχήσαντες καὶ οἱ εἰς
Κύπρον στρατεύσαντες καὶ οἱ εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλεύ-
σαντες καὶ ἄλλοσε πολλαχόσε, ὧν χρὴ μεμνῆσθαι
καὶ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι, ὅτι βασιλέα ἐποίησαν
δείσαντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν,
ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβουλεύειν φθορᾷ.

13. Καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ πάσῃ τῇ πόλει διηντλήθη
242 ὁ πόλεμος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμο-
φώνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης
καὶ τῆς πόλεως τιμωμένης ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὃ δὴ
φιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι προσ-
πίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος, ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ φθόνος.
ὃ καὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἄκουσαν ἐν πολέμῳ τοῖς
Ἕλλησι κατέστησε. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γενομένου
πολέμου, συνέβαλον μὲν ἐν Τανάγρᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς
B Βοιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας Λακεδαιμονίοις μαχόμενοι,
ἀμφισβητησίμου δὲ τῆς μάχης γενομένης, διέκρινε
τὸ ὕστερον ἔργον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες,
καταλείποντες [Βοιωτοὺς][1] οἷς ἐβοήθουν, οἱ δ'
ἡμέτεροι τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις νικήσαντες
τοὺς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας δικαίως κατήγαγον. οὗτοι
δὴ πρῶτοι μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον, Ἕλλησιν

[1] Βοιωτοὺς bracketed by Bekker.

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[1] The Athenians, under Cimon, defeated the Persian forces, both by land and sea, at the river Eurymedon, in Pamphylia, in 468 (*cf.* Thucyd. i. 100).

[2] These naval operations (against Persia) took place about 461–458 B.C. [3] B.C. 457.

to renew his attempt against the Greeks. Wherefore it is right that we should make mention also of those men who put the finishing touch to the work of salvation executed by their predecessors by sweeping away the whole of the barbarian power and driving it clean off the seas. These were the men who fought the sea-fight at the Eurymedon,[1] the men who served in the expedition against Cyprus, the men who voyaged to Egypt and to many another quarter,[2] —men whom we ought to hold in memory and render them thanks, seeing that they put the king in fear and caused him to give his whole mind to his own safety in place of plotting the destruction of Greece.

Now this war was endured to the end by all our citizens who warred against the barbarians in defence of all the other Greek-speaking peoples as well as themselves. But when peace was secured and our city was held in honour, there followed the usual consequence which the successful suffer at the hands of men; for it was assailed by jealousy first, and after jealousy by envy; and thereby our city was plunged against its will into war with the Greeks. Thereupon, when war had broken out, they encountered the Lacedaemonians at Tanagra[3] while fighting in defence of the liberties of the Boeotians; and though the battle itself was indecisive, it was decided by the subsequent result. For whereas the enemy retired and made off, deserting those whom they had come to assist, our men won a victory after a two days' battle at Oenophyta,[4] and rightfully restored those who were wrongfully exiled. These were the first of our men who, after the Persian

[4] Oenophyta was fought two months after Tanagra, Thucyd. i. 108.

242 ἤδη ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας βοηθοῦντες πρὸς Ἕλληνας,
ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ ἐλευθερώσαντες οἷς
C ἐβοήθουν, ἐν τῷδε τῷ μνήματι τιμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς
πόλεως πρῶτοι ἐτέθησαν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῦ πολέμου γενομένου, καὶ
πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιστρατευσάντων καὶ τεμόν-
των τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀναξίαν χάριν ἐκτινόντων τῇ
πόλει, νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίᾳ οἱ ἡμέτεροι καὶ
λαβόντες αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν
τῇ Σφαγίᾳ, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς διαφθεῖραι ἐφείσαντο καὶ
D ἀπέδοσαν καὶ εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο, ἡγούμενοι πρὸς
μὲν τὸ ὁμόφυλον μέχρι νίκης δεῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ
μὴ δι' ὀργὴν ἰδίαν πόλεως τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
διολλύναι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους μέχρι δια-
φθορᾶς. τούτους δὴ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας,
οἳ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον πολεμήσαντες ἐνθάδε
κεῖνται, ὅτι ἐπέδειξαν, εἴ τις ἄρα ἠμφεσβήτει ὡς
ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἄλλοι τινὲς εἶεν ἀμείνους Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι οὐκ
E ἀληθῆ ἀμφισβητοῖεν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἔδειξαν,
στασιασάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος περιγενόμενοι τῷ
πολέμῳ, τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
χειρωσάμενοι, μεθ' ὧν τότε τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἐνίκων κοινῇ, τούτους νικῶντες ἰδίᾳ.

14. Τρίτος δὲ πόλεμος μετὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην
ἀνέλπιστός τε καὶ δεινὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ καὶ
ἀγαθοὶ τελευτήσαντες ἐνθάδε κεῖνται, πολλοὶ μὲν
ἀμφὶ Σικελίαν πλεῖστα τρόπαια στήσαντες ὑπὲρ
243 τῆς Λεοντίνων ἐλευθερίας, οἷς βοηθοῦντες διὰ τοὺς

[1] *i.e.* Sphacteria. These events took place in 425 B.C., the seventh year of the Peloponnesian War.

war and now helping Greeks against Greeks in the cause of freedom, proved themselves men of valour and delivered those whom they were aiding; and they were the first to be honoured by the State and laid to rest in this tomb.

Later on, when there was widespread war, and all the Greeks had marched against us and ravaged our country, most evilly requiting our city, and our men had defeated them by sea and had captured their Lacedaemonian leaders in Sphagia,[1] although they had it in their power to destroy them, yet they spared their lives and gave them back and made peace, since they deemed that against their fellow-Greeks it was right to wage war only up to the point of victory, and not to wreck the whole Greek community for the sake of a city's private grudge, but to wage war to the death against the barbarians. It is meet, indeed, that we should praise these men who were warriors in this war and now lie here, inasmuch as they demonstrated that if any contended that in the former war, against the barbarians, others were superior to the Athenians, their contention was false. This they now proved by their triumph in the war when the Greeks were at feud, and by their conquest of those who were the leaders of the rest of Greece, when, alone by themselves, they defeated that city by whose allied aid they had formerly defeated the barbarians.

This peace was followed by a third war, as formidable as it was unexpected, wherein many brave men lost their lives and now lie here. Many of these reared up numerous trophies of victory in Sicily,[2] fighting for the freedom of Leontini, to succour which

[2] The second Sicilian expedition took place in 413 B.C.

243 ὅρκους ἔπλευσαν εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, διὰ δὲ μῆκος τοῦ πλοῦ εἰς ἀπορίαν τῆς πόλεως καταστάσης καὶ οὐ δυναμένης αὐτοῖς ὑπηρετεῖν, τούτῳ ἀπειπόντες ἐδυστύχησαν· ὧν οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ προσπολεμήσαντες πλείω ἔπαινον ἔχουσι σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ φίλοι· πολλοὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυμαχίαις ταῖς καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον, μιᾷ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἑλόντες ναῦς,
B πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλας νικήσαντες· ὃ δ' εἶπον δεινὸν καὶ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι, τόδε λέγω τὸ εἰς τοσοῦτον φιλονεικίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, ὥστε τολμῆσαι τῷ ἐχθίστῳ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι βασιλεῖ, ὃν κοινῇ ἐξέβαλον μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἰδίᾳ τοῦτον πάλιν ἐπάγεσθαι, βαρβαρον ἐφ' Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξυναθροῖσαι ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν πάντας
C Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους. οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκφανὴς ἐγένετο ἡ τῆς πόλεως ῥώμη τε καὶ ἀρετή. οἰομένων γὰρ ἤδη αὐτὴν καταπεπολεμῆσθαι καὶ ἀπειλημμένων ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ τῶν νεῶν, βοηθήσαντες ἑξήκοντα ναυσίν, αὐτοὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι ὁμολογουμένως ἄριστοι, νικήσαντες μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, λυσάμενοι δὲ τοὺς φιλίους, ἀναξίου τύχης τυχόντες, οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης, κεῖνται ἐνθάδε. ὧν χρὴ ἀεὶ
D μεμνῆσθαί τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων

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[1] This is an exaggeration if the occasion is that mentioned in Thucyd. viii. 9 ff., when ten empty ships were captured. But possibly the reference is to the victory at Cyzicus, B.C. 410, when sixty ships were taken or sunk.

[2] This refers to the Spartan treaty with Tissaphernes, B.C. 412, and the subsequent co-operation of the Persians against Athens.

city, and to honour their pledges, they sailed to those regions ; but inasmuch as our city was in a helpless position and unable to reinforce them owing to the length of the voyage, fortune was against them and they renounced their design ; yet for their prudence and their valour they have received more praise from their foes of the opposite army than the rest of men from their friends. Many others of them fought in the sea-fights in the Hellespont, where in one single day they captured all the enemy's ships,[1] besides winning many other engagements. But what I have termed the formidable and unexpected character of the war lay in this, that the rest of the Greeks had arrived at such a pitch of jealousy towards this city that they even brought themselves to solicit privately the aid of their deadliest foe, the very king whom they had publicly expelled with our assistance, inviting a barbarian as their ally against Greeks ; and dared to range against our city the united forces of all the Greeks and barbarians.[2] And then it was that the strength and valour of our State shone out conspicuously. For when men fancied that she was already reduced by war, with her ships cut off at Mytilene, her citizens sent sixty ships to the rescue, manning the ships themselves and proving themselves indisputably to be men of valour by conquering their foes and setting free their friends ;[3] albeit they met with undeserved misfortune, and were not recovered from the sea to find their burial here.[4] And for these reasons it behoves us to have them in remembrance and to praise them always ; for it was owing to their

[3] The battle of Mytilene was fought in 407 B.C.

[4] At the battle of Arginusae, 406 B.C., twenty-five ships' crews were lost.

243 ἀρετῇ ἐνικήσαμεν οὐ μόνον τὴν τότε ναυμαχίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πόλεμον· δόξαν γὰρ δι' αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις ἔσχε μή ποτ' ἂν καταπολεμηθῆναι μηδ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἀληθῆ ἔδοξε. τῇ δὲ ἡμετέρᾳ αὐτῶν διαφορᾷ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀήττητοι γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπό γε ἐκείνων ἐσμέν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν καὶ ἡττήθημεν.

E Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡσυχίας γενομένης καὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ὁ οἰκεῖος ἡμῖν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμήθη, ὥστε εἴπερ εἱμαρμένον εἴη ἀνθρώποις στασιάσαι, μὴ ἂν ἄλλως εὖξασθαι μηδένα πόλιν ἑαυτοῦ νοσῆσαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τοῦ ἄστεος ὡς ἀσμένως καὶ οἰκείως ἀλλήλοις συνέμιξαν οἱ πολῖται καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι, τόν τε πρὸς
244 τοὺς Ἐλευσῖνι πόλεμον ὡς μετρίως ἔθεντο· καὶ τούτων ἁπάντων οὐδὲν ἄλλ' αἴτιον ἢ ἡ τῷ ὄντι ξυγγένεια, φιλίαν βέβαιον καὶ ὁμόφυλον οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ παρεχομένη. χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων μνείαν ἔχειν καὶ διαλλάττειν αὐτοὺς ᾧ δυνάμεθα, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, ἐν τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, τοῖς κρατοῦσιν αὐτῶν εὐχομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς διηλλάγμεθα.
B οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ ἀλλήλων ἥψαντο οὐδ' ἔχθρᾳ ἀλλὰ δυστυχίᾳ. μάρτυρες δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτοί ἐσμεν τούτων οἱ ζῶντες· οἱ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἐκείνοις γένει συγ-

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[1] *i.e.* the oligarchical party at Athens who held swa or about eighteen months (404–403 B.C.) till ousted by the democrats under Thrasybulus.

valour that we were conquerors not only in the sea-fight on that day but in all the rest of the war ; and it was due to them that men formed the conviction regarding our city (and it was a true conviction) that she could never be warred down, not even by all the world. And in truth it was by our own dissensions that we were brought down and not by the hands of other men ; for by them we are still to this day undefeated, and it is we ourselves who have both defeated and been defeated by ourselves.

After these happenings, when we were at peace and amity with other States, our civil war at home was waged in such a way that—if men are fated to engage in civil strife—there is no man but would pray for his own State that its sickness might resemble ours. So kindly and so friendly was the way in which the citizens from the Peiraeus and from the city consorted with one another, and also—beyond men's hopes—with the other Greeks ; and such moderation did they show in their settlement of the war against the men at Eleusis.[1] And the cause of all these actions was nothing else than that genuine kinship which produces, not in word only but in deed, a firm friendship founded on community of race. And of those who fell in this war also it is meet to make mention and to reconcile them by such means as we can under present conditions,—by prayer, that is, and by sacrifice,—praying for them to those that have them in their keeping, seeing that we ourselves also have been reconciled. For it was not through wickedness that they set upon one another, nor yet through hatred, but through misfortune. And to this we ourselves, who now live, can testify ; for we who are of the same stock as they grant forgiveness to one

244 γνώμην ἀλλήλοις ἔχομεν ὧν τ' ἐποιήσαμεν ὧν τ' ἐπάθομεν.

15. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παντελοῦς εἰρήνης ἡμῖν γενομένης, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις συγγιγνώσκουσα, ὅτι παθόντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς κακῶς [ἱκανῶς][1] οὐκ ἐνδεῶς ἠμύναντο, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησιν ἀγανακτοῦσα, μεμνημένη ὡς εὖ παθόντες ὑπ'
C αὐτῆς οἵαν χάριν ἀπέδοσαν, κοινωσάμενοι τοῖς βαρβάροις, τάς τε ναῦς περιελόμενοι αἵ ποτ' ἐκείνους ἔσωσαν, καὶ τείχη καθελόντες ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τἀκείνων ἐκωλύσαμεν πεσεῖν. διανοουμένη δὲ ἡ πόλις μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀμῦναι μήτε Ἕλλησι πρὸς ἀλλήλων δουλουμένοις μήτε ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, οὕτως ᾤκει. ἡμῶν οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ διανοίᾳ ὄντων ἡγησάμενοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπικούρους πεπτωκέναι ἡμᾶς, σφέτερον δὲ ἤδη
D ἔργον εἶναι καταδουλοῦσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους, ταῦτ' ἔπραττον.

16. Καὶ μηκύνειν μὲν τί δεῖ; οὐ γὰρ πάλαι οὐδὲ παλαιῶν[2] ἀνθρώπων γεγονότα λέγοιμ' ἂν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν, ὡς ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἀφίκοντο εἰς χρείαν τῆς πόλεως τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ πρῶτοι, Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ τό γε θειότατον πάντων, τὸ καὶ βασιλέα εἰς τοῦτο ἀπορίας ἀφικέσθαι ὥστε περιστῆναι αὐτῷ μηδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν τὴν σωτηρίαν γενέσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ
E ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, ἣν προθύμως ἀπώλλυ. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴ τις βούλοιτο τῆς πόλεως κατηγορῆσαι δικαίως, τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον λέγων ὀρθῶς ἂν κατηγοροῖ,

[1] ἱκανῶς bracketed by Bekker.
[2] παλαιῶν one MS.: πολλῶν most MSS., Zur.

another both for what we have done and what we have suffered.

After this, when peace was completely re-established, the city remained quiet, granting forgiveness to the barbarians for the vigorous defence they had offered when she had done them injury, but feeling aggrieved with the Greeks at the thought of the return they had made for the benefits she had done them, in that they joined themselves to the barbarians, and stripped her of those ships which had once been the means of their own salvation, and demolished her walls as a recompense for our saving their walls from ruin.[1] Our city, therefore, resolved that never again would she succour Greeks when in danger of enslavement either by one another or at the hands of barbarians ; and in this mind she abode. Such then being our policy, the Lacedaemonians supposed that we, the champions of liberty, were laid low, and that it was now open to them to enslave the rest, and this they proceeded to do.

But why should I prolong the story ? For what followed next is no tale of ancient history about men of long ago. Nay, we ourselves know how the Argives, the Boeotians and the Corinthians—the leading States of Greece—came to need our city, being stricken with terror, and how even the Persian king himself—most marvellous fact of all—was reduced to such a state of distress that eventually he could hope for salvation from no other quarter save this city of ours which he had been so eager to destroy. And in truth, if one desired to frame a just accusation against the city, the only true accusation one could

[1] These formed part of the terms exacted by the Spartans after the battle of Aegospotami, B.C. 405.

244 ὡς ἀεὶ λίαν φιλοικτίρμων ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦ ἥττονος θεραπίς. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ οὐχ οἵα τε ἐγένετο καρτερῆσαι οὐδὲ διαφυλάξαι ἃ ἐδέδοκτο αὐτῇ, τὸ μηδενὶ δουλουμένῳ βοηθεῖν τῶν σφᾶς
245 ἀδικησάντων, ἀλλὰ ἐκάμφθη καὶ ἐβοήθησε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας αὐτὴ βοηθήσασα ἀπελύσατο δουλείας, ὥστ' ἐλευθέρους εἶναι μέχρι οὗ πάλιν αὐτοὶ αὑτοὺς κατεδουλώσαντο, βασιλεῖ δὲ αὐτὴ μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε βοηθῆσαι, αἰσχυνομένη τὰ τρόπαια τά τε Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ Πλαταιαῖς, φυγάδας δὲ καὶ ἐθελοντὰς ἐάσασα μόνον βοηθῆσαι ὁμολογουμένως ἔσωσε. τειχισα-
B μένη δὲ καὶ ναυπηγησαμένη, ἐκδεξαμένη τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπειδὴ ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, ὑπὲρ Παρίων ἐπολέμει Λακεδαιμονίοις.

17. Φοβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα Λακεδαιμονίους τῷ κατὰ θάλατταν πολέμῳ ἀπαγορεύοντας, ἀποστῆναι βουλόμενος ἐξήτει τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ, οὕσπερ πρότερον Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτῷ ἐξέδοσαν, εἰ μέλλοι συμμαχήσειν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις,
C ἡγούμενος οὐκ ἐθελήσειν, ἵν' αὐτῷ πρόφασις εἴη τῆς ἀποστάσεως. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ἐψεύσθη—ἠθέλησαν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκδιδόναι καὶ ξυνέθεντο καὶ ὤμοσαν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι, εἰ μέλλοι χρήματα παρέξειν, ἐκδώσειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἕλληνας—,

[1] *e.g.* the Athenian Conon became a Persian admiral and operated against the Spartans, 395–390 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* the Ionian Greeks, whom the Spartans offered to hand over to the Persians in 392 B.C.

bring would be this,—that she has always been compassionate to excess and the handmaid of the weak. And in fact, on that occasion, she proved unable to harden her heart and adhere firmly to her resolved policy of refusing to assist any in danger of enslavement against those who wronged them; on the contrary she gave way and lent assistance. The Greeks she aided herself and rescued them from slavery, so that they remained free until such time as they enslaved each other once more; but to the King she could not bring herself to lend official aid for fear of disgracing the trophies of Marathon, Salamis and Plataea, but she permitted exiles only and volunteers to assist him, and thereby, beyond a doubt, she saved him.[1] Having, then, restored her walls and rebuilt her navy, she entered upon the war, since war was forced upon her, and in defence of the Parians warred against the Lacedaemonians.

But the King, becoming afraid of our city when he saw that the Lacedaemonians were desisting from the naval struggle, wished to desert us; so he demanded the surrender of the Greeks in the Continent, whom the Lacedaemonians had formerly given over to him, as the price of his continuing his alliance with us and the other allies, thinking that we would refuse and thus furnish him with a pretext for his desertion. Now in the case of the rest of his allies he was mistaken; for they all—including the Corinthians, Argives, Boeotians, and the rest—consented to hand them over to him, making a sworn agreement that if he would supply them with money they would hand over the Greeks in the Continent[2]; but we, and we alone, could not bring

245 μόνοι δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκδοῦναι
οὔτε ὁμόσαι. οὕτω δή τοι τό γε τῆς πόλεως γεν-
ναῖον καὶ ἐλεύθερον βέβαιόν τε καὶ ὑγιές ἐστι καὶ
D φύσει μισοβάρβαρον, διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῶς εἶναι Ἕλ-
ληνες καὶ ἀμιγεῖς βαρβάρων. οὐ γὰρ Πέλοπες
οὐδὲ Κάδμοι οὐδὲ Αἴγυπτοί τε καὶ Δαναοὶ οὐδὲ
ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φύσει μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες, νόμῳ δὲ
Ἕλληνες, συνοικοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνες,
οὐ μιξοβάρβαροι οἰκοῦμεν, ὅθεν καθαρὸν τὸ μῖσος
ἐντέτηκε τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως. ὅμως δ'
οὖν ἐμονώθημεν πάλιν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν αἰσχρὸν
καὶ ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι Ἕλληνας βαρβάροις
E ἐκδόντες. ἐλθόντες οὖν εἰς ταὐτὰ ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸ
πρότερον κατεπολεμήθημεν, σὺν θεῷ ἄμεινον ἢ
τότε ἐθέμεθα τὸν πόλεμον· καὶ γὰρ ναῦς καὶ τείχη
ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀποικίας ἀπ-
ηλλάγημεν τοῦ πολέμου· οὕτως ἀγαπητῶς ἀπ-
ηλλάττοντο καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀνδρῶν μέντοι ἀγαθῶν
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐστερήθημεν, τῶν τε ἐν
Κορίνθῳ χρησαμένων δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Λεχαίῳ
246 προδοσίᾳ. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλέα ἐλευθερώ-
σαντες καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης Λακεδαι-
μονίους. ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἀναμιμνήσκω, ὑμᾶς
δὲ πρέπει ξυνεπαινεῖν τε καὶ κοσμεῖν τοιούτους
ἄνδρας.

18. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἔργα ταῦτα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν
ἐνθάδε κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι ὑπὲρ τῆς πό-
λεως τετελευτήκασι, πολλὰ μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ
καλά, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω καὶ καλλίω τὰ ὑπολειπό-

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[1] This refers to "the King's Peace" (or Peace of Antalcidas) of 387–386 B.C.

ourselves either to hand them over or to join in the agreement. So firmly-rooted and so sound is the noble and liberal character of our city, and endowed also with such a hatred of the barbarian, because we are pure-blooded Greeks, unadulterated by barbarian stock. For there cohabit with us none of the type of Pelops, or Cadmus, or Aegyptus or Danaus, and numerous others of the kind, who are naturally barbarians though nominally Greeks; but our people are pure Greeks and not a barbarian blend; whence it comes that our city is imbued with a whole-hearted hatred of alien races. None the less, we were isolated once again because of our refusal to perform the dishonourable and unholy act of surrendering Greeks to barbarians. And thus we found ourselves in the same position which had previously led to our military overthrow; but, by the help of God, we brought the war to a more favourable conclusion [1] than on that occasion. For we still retained our ships, our walls, and our own colonies, when we ceased from the war, —so welcome to our enemies also was its cessation. Yet truly in this war also we suffered the loss of valiant men,—the men who had difficult ground to cope with at Corinth and treachery at Lechaeum [2]; valiant, too, were the men who rescued the King and drove the Lacedaemonians off the seas. These men I recall to your memory, and you it becomes to join in praising and celebrating men such as these.

And now we have related many of the noble deeds done by the men who are lying here, and by all the others who have died in defence of their city; yet far more numerous and more noble are those that

[2] The Corinthian oligarchs were supported by the Spartans, against whom the Athenians fought in 393–392.

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B μενα· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἂν ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες οὐχ ἱκαναὶ γένοιντο τῷ τὰ πάντα μέλλοντι περαίνειν. τούτων οὖν χρὴ μεμνημένους τοῖς τούτων ἐκγόνοις πάντ' ἄνδρα παρακελεύεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν πολέμῳ, μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν τὴν τῶν προγόνων μηδ' εἰς τοὐπίσω ἀναχωρεῖν εἴκοντας κάκῃ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ὦ παῖδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, νῦν τε παρα-
C κελεύομαι καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ χρόνῳ, ὅπου ἄν τῳ ἐντυγχάνω ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀναμνήσω καὶ διακελεύσομαι προθυμεῖσθαι εἶναι ὡς ἀρίστους· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι δίκαιός εἰμι εἰπεῖν ἃ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῖν ἐπέσκηπτον ἀπαγγέλλειν τοῖς λειπομένοις, εἴ τι πάσχοιεν, ἡνίκα κινδυνεύειν ἔμελλον. φράσω δὲ ὑμῖν ἅ τε αὐτῶν ἤκουσα ἐκείνων καὶ οἷα νῦν ἡδέως ἂν εἴποιεν ὑμῖν λαβόντες δύναμιν, τεκμαιρόμενος ἐξ ὧν τότε ἔλεγον. ἀλλὰ νομίζειν χρὴ αὐτῶν ἀκούειν ἐκείνων
D ἃ ἂν ἀπαγγέλλω. ἔλεγον δὲ τάδε.

19. Ὦ παῖδες, ὅτι μέν ἐστε πατέρων ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸ μηνύει τὸ νῦν παρόν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐξὸν ζῆν μὴ καλῶς, καλῶς αἱρούμεθα μᾶλλον τελευτᾶν, πρὶν ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς ἔπειτα εἰς ὀνείδη καταστῆσαι καὶ πρὶν τοὺς ἡμετέρους πατέρας καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόσθεν γένος αἰσχῦναι, ἡγούμενοι τῷ τοὺς αὑτοῦ αἰσχύνοντι ἀβίωτον εἶναι καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ οὔτε τινὰ
E ἀνθρώπων οὔτε θεῶν φίλον εἶναι οὔτ' ἐπὶ γῆς οὔθ' ὑπὸ γῆς τελευτήσαντι. χρὴ οὖν μεμνημένους τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων, ἐάν τι καὶ ἄλλο ἀσκῆτε, ἀσκεῖν

remain unmentioned; for many days and nights would not suffice were one to relate them all in full. Wherefore it is right that every man, bearing these men in mind, should exhort these men's children, just as in time of war, not to fall out of rank with their fathers nor to give way to cowardice and beat a retreat. And I myself for my own part, O ye children of valiant men, am now exhorting you and in the future, wheresoever I shall encounter any of you, I shall continue to remind you and admonish you to be zealous to show yourselves supremely valiant. But on this occasion it is my duty to record the message which your fathers, at the time when they were about to risk their lives, enjoined us, in case any ill befell them, to give to those who survived them. I will repeat to you both the words which I heard from their lips and those which they would now desire to say to you, if they had the power, judging from what they actually said on that occasion. You must, however, imagine that you are hearing from their own lips the message which I shall deliver. This, then, is what they said:

"O children, that ye are born of valiant sires is clearly shown by the facts now before you: we, who might have ignobly lived choose rather to die nobly, before we bring you and those after you to disgrace, and before we bring shame upon our own fathers and all our earlier forebears, since we deem that life is unworthy to be lived for the man who brings shame upon his own, and that such an one has no friend amongst gods or man, either here on earth, or under the earth when he is dead. Wherefore ye must bear in mind our words, and whatsoever else ye practise ye must practise it in union with valour,

μετ' ἀρετῆς, εἰδότας ὅτι τούτου λειπόμενα πάντα καὶ κτήματα καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα αἰσχρὰ καὶ κακά. οὔτε γὰρ πλοῦτος κάλλος φέρει τῷ κεκτημένῳ μετ' ἀνανδρίας—ἄλλῳ γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος πλουτεῖ καὶ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ—, οὔτε σώματος κάλλος καὶ ἰσχὺς δειλῷ καὶ κακῷ ξυνοικοῦντα πρέποντα φαίνεται ἀλλ' ἀπρεπῆ, καὶ ἐπιφανέστερον ποιεῖ τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ ἐκφαίνει τὴν δειλίαν· πᾶσά τε ἐπιστήμη χωριζομένη δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς πανουργία, οὐ σοφία φαίνεται. ὧν ἕνεκα καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ὕστατον καὶ διὰ παντὸς πᾶσαν πάντως προθυμίαν πειρᾶσθε ἔχειν, ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ὑπερβαλεῖσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πρόσθεν εὐκλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἴστε ὡς ἡμῖν, ἂν μὲν νικῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀρετῇ, ἡ νίκη αἰσχύνην φέρει, ἡ δὲ ἧττα, ἐὰν ἡττώμεθα, εὐδαιμονίαν. μάλιστα δ' ἂν νικῴμεθα καὶ ὑμεῖς νικῴητε, εἰ παρασκευάσαισθε τῇ τῶν προγόνων δόξῃ μὴ καταχρησόμενοι μηδ' ἀναλώσοντες αὐτήν, γνόντες ὅτι ἀνδρὶ οἰομένῳ τι εἶναι οὐκ ἔστιν αἴσχιον οὐδὲν ἢ παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον μὴ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξαν προγόνων. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ τιμὰς γονέων ἐκγόνοις καλὸς θησαυρὸς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπής· χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῶν θησαυρῷ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις παραδιδόναι, αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἄνανδρον, ἀπορίᾳ ἰδίων αὐτοῦ κτημάτων τε καὶ εὐδοξιῶν. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύσητε, φίλοι παρὰ φίλους ἡμᾶς ἀφίξεσθε, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἡ προσήκουσα μοῖρα κομίσῃ· ἀμελήσαντας

being well assured that when divorced from this all possessions and pursuits are base and ignoble. For neither does wealth bring honour to its possessor if combined with cowardice—for such an one is rich for another rather than for himself,—nor do beauty and strength appear comely, but rather uncomely, when they are attached to one that is cowardly and base, since they make their possessor more conspicuous and show up his cowardice; and every form of knowledge when sundered from justice and the rest of virtue is seen to be plain roguery rather than wisdom. For these reasons do ye make it your endeavour, first and last and always, in every way to show all zeal that ye may exceed, if possible, both us and those who went before us in renown; but if not, be ye well assured that if we vanquish you in virtue our victory brings us shame, whereas, if we are defeated, our defeat brings happiness. And most of all would we be the vanquished, you the victors, if ye are careful in your conduct not to trade upon the glory of your ancestors nor yet to squander it, believing that for a man who holds himself of some account there is nothing more shameful than to find himself held in honour not for his own sake but because of the glory of his ancestors. In the honours which belong to their parents, the children truly possess a noble and splendid treasure; but to use up one's treasure, whether of wealth or of honour, and bequeath none to one's children, is the base and unmanly act of one who lacks all wealth and distinctions of his own. And if ye practise these precepts ye will come unto us as friends unto friends whensoever the appointed doom shall convey you hither; but if ye neglect them and play the coward,

247 δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ κακισθέντας οὐδεὶς εὐμενῶς ὑποδέξεται. τοῖς μὲν οὖν παισὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθω.

20. Πατέρας δὲ ἡμῶν, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ μητέρας ἀεὶ χρὴ παραμυθεῖσθαι ὡς ῥᾷστα φέρειν τὴν ξυμφοράν, ἐὰν ἄρα ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ ξυνοδύρεσθαι—οὐ γὰρ τοῦ λυπήσοντος προσδεήσονται·
D ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἔσται καὶ ἡ γενομένη τύχη τοῦτο πορίζειν—ἀλλ' ἰωμένους καὶ πραΰνοντας ἀναμιμνήσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὧν εὔχοντο τὰ μέγιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι γεγόνασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὔχοντο γενέσθαι ἀλλ' ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεῖς· ὧν ἔτυχον, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὄντων. πάντα δὲ οὐ ῥᾴδιον θνητῷ ἀνδρὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ ἐκβαίνειν. καὶ φέροντες μὲν ἀνδρείως τὰς συμφορὰς δόξουσι τῷ ὄντι ἀνδρείων παίδων
E πατέρες εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτοι· ὑπείκοντες δὲ ὑποψίαν παρέξουσιν ἢ μὴ ἡμέτεροι εἶναι ἢ ἡμῶν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας καταψεύδεσθαι. χρὴ δὲ οὐδέτερα τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μάλιστα ἡμῶν ἐπαινέτας εἶναι ἔργῳ, παρέχοντας αὑτοὺς φαινομένους τῷ ὄντι πατέρας ὄντας ἄνδρας ἀνδρῶν. πάλαι γὰρ δὴ τὸ Μηδὲν ἄγαν λεγόμενον καλῶς δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι εὖ λέγεται. ὅτῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήρτηται πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν φέροντα ἢ
248 ἐγγὺς τούτου, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἰωρεῖται ἐξ ὧν ἢ εὖ ἢ κακῶς πραξάντων πλανᾶσθαι ἠνάγκασται καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου, τούτῳ ἄριστα παρεσκεύασται ζῆν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φρόνιμος· οὗτος γιγνομένων χρημά-

ye will be welcomed graciously by none." Let such, then, be the words we address to our children.

"Those of us who have fathers or mothers must counsel them always to bear their calamity—if so be that such has befallen them—as cheerfully as possible, and not join in their lamentations; for in sooth they will need no further cause of grief; the present misfortune will provide grief in plenty. Rather should we mollify and assuage their sorrow by reminding them that in the greatest matters the gods have already hearkened unto their prayers. For they prayed not that their sons should become immortal, but valiant and renowned; and these, which are the greatest of boons, they obtained. But that all things should turn out thus according to his mind, in respect of his own life, is for a mortal man no easy matter. Moreover, by bearing their calamities thus bravely they will clearly show that they are in truth the fathers of brave sons and of a like bravery themselves; whereas if they give way they will afford grounds for suspecting either that they are no fathers of ours or that we have been falsely belauded. But neither of these should they allow; rather should they belaud us most by their actions, showing themselves plainly to be in very truth the manly fathers of us men. That ancient saying, 'Nothing overmuch' is judged to be a noble saying; and in truth it is well said. For that man is best prepared for life who makes all that concerns his welfare depend upon himself, or nearly so, instead of hanging his hopes on other men, whereby with their rise or fall his own fortunes also inevitably sway up or down: he it is that is temperate, he it is that is courageous and wise; he it is that, when gaining

248 των καὶ παίδων καὶ διαφθειρομένων μάλιστα
πείσεται τῇ παροιμίᾳ· οὔτε γὰρ χαίρων οὔτε λυπού-
μενος ἄγαν φανήσεται διὰ τὸ αὐτῷ πεποιθέναι.
τοιούτους δὲ ἡμεῖς γε ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους
B εἶναι καὶ βουλόμεθα καὶ φανῆναι,[1] καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐ-
τοὺς νῦν παρέχομεν τοιούτους, οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦντας
οὐδὲ φοβουμένους ἄγαν, εἰ δεῖ τελευτᾶν ἐν τῷ παρ-
όντι. δεόμεθα δὴ καὶ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων τῇ
αὐτῇ ταύτῃ διανοίᾳ χρωμένους τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον
διάγειν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ θρηνοῦντες οὐδὲ ὀλο-
φυρόμενοι ἡμᾶς ἡμῖν μάλιστα χαριοῦνται, ἀλλ' εἴ
C τις ἔστι τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν αἴσθησις τῶν ζώντων,
οὕτως ἀχάριστοι εἶεν ἂν μάλιστα, ἑαυτούς τε
κακοῦντες καὶ βαρέως φέροντες τὰς συμφοράς·
κούφως δὲ καὶ μετρίως μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζοιντο. τὰ
μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα τελευτὴν ἤδη ἕξει ἥπερ καλλίστη
γίγνεται ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε πρέπει αὐτὰ μᾶλλον
κοσμεῖν ἢ θρηνεῖν· γυναικῶν δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων καὶ
παίδων ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ τρέφοντες καὶ ἐνταῦθα
τὸν νοῦν τρέποντες τῆς τε τύχης μάλιστ' ἂν εἶεν
ἐν λήθῃ καὶ ζῷεν κάλλιον καὶ ὀρθότερον καὶ ἡμῖν
D προσφιλέστερον.

Ταῦτα δὴ ἱκανὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγγέλ-
λειν. τῇ δὲ πόλει παρακελευοίμεθ' ἂν ὅπως ἡμῖν
καὶ πατέρων καὶ υἱέων ἐπιμελήσονται, τοὺς μὲν
παιδεύοντες κοσμίως, τοὺς δὲ γηροτροφοῦντες
ἀξίως. νῦν δὲ ἴσμεν ὅτι, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἡμεῖς παρα-
κελευώμεθα, ἱκανῶς ἐπιμελήσεται.

21. Ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ παῖδες καὶ γονεῖς τῶν τελευ-
E τησάντων, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐπέσκηπτον ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλ-
λειν, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς δύναμαι προθυμότατα ἀπαγγέλλω·

[1] φανῆναι] φαμέν mss., Zur.

or losing riches or children, will best exemplify the proverb; for, because he puts his trust in himself, he will neither be seen rejoicing nor yet grieving overmuch. Of such a character we request our friends to be, and desire them to appear, even as we now display ourselves as such, being neither aggrieved nor alarmed overmuch if so be that at this present crisis we must die. We beseech both fathers and mothers to pass the rest of their lives holding to this same conviction, and to be well assured that it is not by mourning and lamenting us that they will gratify us most; nay, if the dead have any perception of the living, it is thus that they would gratify us least, by debasing themselves and bearing their sorrows with a heavy heart; whereas by a light-hearted and temperate demeanour they would gratify us most. As for our own fortunes, they have already reached that climax which is the noblest of all for mortal men; wherefore it is more fitting to magnify than to mourn them. But to our wives and children let them give care and nurture and devote their mind to them; for thus they will best forget their ill fortune and live a life that is nobler and truer and more pleasing in our eyes.

"Let this, then, suffice as our message to our kinsfolk. To the City we would add an exhortation that on our behalf they care for our parents and our sons, bestowing on the latter an orderly training, and on the former the fitting nurture of old age; and, as it is, we are well assured that even without our exhortation the city will bestow upon them ample care."

Such is the message, O ye children and parents of the fallen, which they enjoined upon us to deliver, and which I, with all the earnestness in my power,

248 καὶ αὐτὸς δέομαι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, τῶν μὲν μιμεῖσθαι
τοὺς αὑτῶν, τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν, ὡς ἡμῶν
καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ γηροτροφησόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ
ἐπιμεληsομένων, ὅπου ἂν ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ ἐν-
τυγχάνῃ ὁτῳοῦν τῶν ἐκείνων. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἴστε
που καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὅτι νόμους θεμένη
περὶ τοὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων παῖ-
δάς τε καὶ γεννήτορας ἐπιμελεῖται, καὶ διαφερόν-
249 τως τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν προστέτακται φυλάττειν
ἀρχῇ ἥπερ μεγίστη ἐστίν, ὅπως ἂν οἱ τούτων μὴ
ἀδικῶνται πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας
συνεκτρέφει αὐτή, προθυμουμένη ὅ τι μάλιστ'
ἄδηλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀρφανίαν γενέσθαι, ἐν πατρὸς
σχήματι καταστᾶσα αὐτοῖς αὐτὴ ἔτι τε παισὶν
οὖσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν εἰς ἀνδρὸς τέλος ἴωσιν, ἀπο-
πέμπει ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν πανοπλίᾳ κοσμήσασα,
ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ ἀναμιμνήσκουσα τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
B ἐπιτηδεύματα ὄργανα τῆς πατρῴας ἀρετῆς διδοῦσα,
καὶ ἅμα οἰωνοῦ χάριν ἄρχεσθαι ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν
πατρῴαν ἑστίαν ἄρξοντα μετ' ἰσχύος ὅπλοις κεκο-
σμημένον. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας τιμῶσα
οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτὴ τὰ
νομιζόμενα ποιοῦσα κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἅπερ ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ
ἴδια γίγνεται, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς
καὶ ἱππικοὺς τιθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης, καὶ
ἀτεχνῶς τῶν μὲν τελευτησάντων ἐν κληρονόμου
C καὶ υἱέος μοίρᾳ καθεστηκυῖα, τῶν δὲ υἱέων ἐν
πατρός, γονέων δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ἐπιτρόπου,

have now delivered; and I myself, on their behalf, entreat the children to imitate their fathers, and the parents to have no fear for themselves, seeing that we, both privately and publicly, will give nurture to your age and bestow care upon you, wheresoever one of us meets with one of you. And as regards the care bestowed by the City, of your own selves ye know well that she has made laws regarding both the children and the begetters of those who have fallen in the war, to ensure their care; and that the highest authority in the State is instructed to watch over them beyond all other citizens, that the fathers and mothers of these men may suffer no wrong. And the City herself helps in the bringing up of their children, endeavouring to render them as little conscious as possible of their orphaned condition; while they are yet children she stands towards them as a father, and when they arrive at man's estate she presents them with full military equipment and sends them back to their own place, thereby exhibiting and putting them in mind of their fathers' profession by bestowing on each of them the instruments of his father's prowess, while at the same time desiring that he should be auspiciously equipped with arms on commencing his journey to his ancestral hearth, there to rule with power. Nor does the City ever omit to pay honour to the dead heroes themselves, seeing that she herself year by year performs publicly, on behalf of all, those customary rites which are privately performed for each; and moreover, she institutes contests in athletics and horse-racing and music of every kind. And thus, in simple fact, she stands towards the fallen in the position of son and heir, towards the sons in that of father, and towards the

249 πᾶσαν πάντων παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμέλειαν ποιουμένη. ὧν χρὴ ἐνθυμουμένους πραότερον φέρειν τὴν ξυμφοράν· τοῖς τε γὰρ τελευτήσασι καὶ τοῖς ζῶσιν οὕτως ἂν προσφιλέστατοι εἴητε καὶ ῥᾷστοι θεραπεύειν τε καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι.

Νῦν δὲ ἤδη ὑμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες κοινῇ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφυράμενοι ἄπιτε.

22. Οὗτός σοι ὁ λόγος, ὦ Μενέξενε, Ἀσπασίας D τῆς Μιλησίας ἐστίν.

ΜΕ. Νὴ Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, μακαρίαν γε λέγεις τὴν Ἀσπασίαν, εἰ γυνὴ οὖσα τοιούτους λόγους οἷα τ' ἐστὶ συντιθέναι.

ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πιστεύεις, ἀκολούθει μετ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἀκούσει αὐτῆς λεγούσης.

ΜΕ. Πολλάκις, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα Ἀσπασίᾳ, καὶ οἶδα οἷα ἐστίν.

ΣΩ. Τί οὖν; οὐκ ἄγασαι αὐτὴν καὶ νῦν χάριν ἔχεις τοῦ λόγου αὐτῇ;

ΜΕ. Καὶ πολλήν γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ χάριν ἔχω E τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἐκείνῃ ἢ ἐκείνῳ ὅστις σοι ὁ εἰπών ἐστιν αὐτόν· καὶ πρός[1] γε ἄλλων πολλῶν χάριν ἔχω τῷ εἰπόντι.

ΣΩ. Εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ κατερεῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὖθίς σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους παρ' αὐτῆς πολιτικοὺς ἀπαγγέλλω.

ΜΕ. Θάρρει, οὐ κατερῶ· μόνον ἀπάγγελλε.

ΣΩ. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἔσται.

[1] πρός one MS.: πρό most MSS., Zur.

parents of the dead in that of guardian, thus exercising towards all all manner of care throughout all time. Laying which to heart it behoves you to bear your sorrow with the greater calm ; for thus will ye best content both the dead and the living, and tend and be tended with the greatest ease.

And now that ye and all the rest have already made public lamentation for the dead as the law ordains, go ye your ways.

There, Menexenus, you have the oration of Aspasia, the Milesian.

MEN. And by Zeus, Socrates, Aspasia, by your account, deserves to be congratulated if she is really capable of composing a speech like that, woman though she is.

SOC. Nay, then, if you are incredulous, come along with me and listen to a speech from her own lips.

MEN. I have met with Aspasia many a time, Socrates, and I know well what she is like.

SOC. Well, then, don't you admire her, and are you not grateful to her now for her oration ?

MEN. Yes, I am exceedingly grateful, Socrates, for the oration to her or to him—whoever it was that repeated it to you ; and what is more, I owe many other debts of gratitude to him that repeated it.

SOC. That will be fine ! Only be careful not to give me away, so that I may report to you later on many other fine political speeches of hers.

MEN. Have no fear : I won't give you away ; only do you report them.

SOC. Well, it shall be done.